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KEMPTON, IRVING KRISTOL, S. L. A. MARSHALL,
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DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, REINHOLD NIEBUHR,
VLADIMIR NABOKOV, JOHN P. ROCHE, BAYARD
RUSTIN, ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR., ISAAC
BASHEVIS SINGER, GUS TYLER...

THE CHANCES ARE 8,000 TO ONE THAT YOU'VE NEVER READ THE MAGAZINE THESE PEOPLE ARE TALKING ABOUT

(But you've been influenced by it, whoever you are).

“

“...has always been two years ahead of the New York Times in telling you what is going on in the world.”
Murray Kempton

“One of the truly remarkable publications of these dangerous times.”
Fortune

“Wields influence out of all proportion to its size.” **Time**

“It would be impossible for any normal person to agree with all that appears...but it is possible for all lovers of free expression to welcome the fact that it exists and...continues to sound off.” **New York Times**

“Belligerently outspoken...” **Newsweek**

“...has fulfilled an important function of political enlightenment...and is still doing so.”

Arthur Koestler

”

“I would feel much better about the future of this country if more of our publications would handle serious information in this fashion.”

Senator J. William Fulbright

They're talking about The New Leader, the biweekly magazine of news and opinion that has also been called “an underground journal on glossy stock for the world's intellectual, political and cultural heretics.”

WHY THE NEW LEADER IS DIFFERENT...

Two basic characteristics separate The New Leader from other intellectual/political magazines. The style of its writing; the style of its thinking. Both are designed to shake things up; to look at things unconventionally; to jab at, prick at and hopefully puncture the doctrinaire togetherness of so much of the liberal community.

Its writers comprise a Who's Who of the world's political and intellectual thinkers and leaders. Geographically, they range from Willy Brandt to Milovan Djilas to Juan Bosch. Politically, they've included Hubert Humphrey, Everett

McKinley Dirksen, Edward M. Kennedy and Bertrand Russell.

They seldom agree with each other. And that, precisely, is the point. The New Leader offers a forum where responsible writers are free to be candid, prophetic, indignant, and—on occasion—wrong.

The New Leader attracts these kinds of writers (and, we think, the best of their writing) because it offers them total freedom to say what they want to say, plus an audience that will reflect intelligently, and answer in kind.

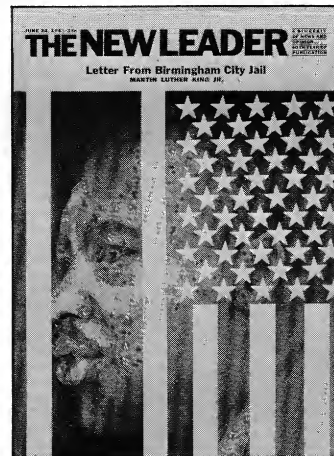
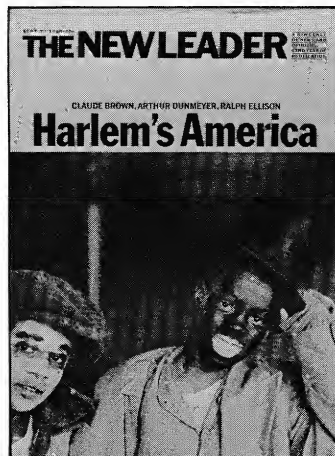
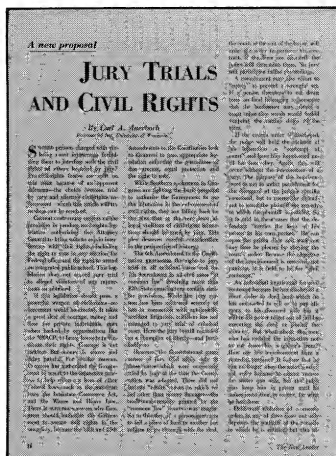
THE NEW LEADER AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE

In addition to its continuing coverage of the civil rights revolution, The New Leader has produced a number of articles that have directly affected the course of race relations in the United States:

In the spring of 1957, for instance, a Southern filibuster was blocking the enactment of civil rights legislation and threatening its virtual extinction. On April 29, The New Leader published a plan for breaking the deadlock by Carl A. Auerbach, then a professor of law at the University of Wisconsin, entitled "Jury Trials and Civil Rights." Auerbach's proposal ended the filibuster and formed the basis of the first Civil Rights Bill to be passed in the United States.

"Harlem's America" was an entire issue devoted to the vivid testimony of Claude Brown, Arthur Dunnmeyer and Ralph Ellison before Senator Ribicoff's committee investigating the crisis in our cities. It documented, in realistic language, the day to day misery of life in the urban American ghetto.

In 1963, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. sat down in a Birmingham jail cell during one of his many imprisonments and answered a public statement by eight Alabama clergymen upset over the "unwise and untimely" demonstrations taking place. "Letter from Birmingham City Jail," published in The New Leader, stands as one of the bitterest attacks ever made on white moderates by Doctor King.



STORIES IN THE NEW LEADER THAT CREATED STORIES THEMSELVES

From Eastern Europe's underground have come a succession of articles, poems and other literary manuscripts that were smuggled to The New Leader.

These have included works by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Evgeny Evtushenko, Victor Nekrasov and Andrei Sinyavsky (who was subsequently jailed for allowing his writing to be published in the West under the pseudonym Abram Tertz).

"Moscow Summer," an article by the young Yugoslav writer Mihajlo Mihajlov that commented critically on Russia's social and cultural life, resulted in his denunciation and arrest.

Mihajlov's problems closely parallel those of Milovan Djilas, former Vice-President of Yugoslavia, whose New Leader piece, "The Storm in Eastern Europe," led to a closed trial and imprisonment.

AN ALPHABETICAL AND INCOMPLETE LIST OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE NEW LEADER

And we mean contributed. In return for their efforts they get only the guarantee that they can say what they want, the way they want to—regardless of whose feelings are bruised (and that includes the editors of The New Leader).

Daniel Bell
Adolf A. Berle
Juan Bosch
Willy Brandt
Chester Bowles
Zbigniew Brzezinski
Senator Frank Church
Milovan Djilas
Theodore Draper
Ralph Ellison
John W. Gardner
Michael Harrington

Richard C. Hottelet
Stanley Edgar Hyman
Hubert H. Humphrey
George F. Kennan
Senator Edward M. Kennedy
Murray Kempton
(His most stirring
words are found on page
one of this folder)
Irving Kristol
Robert Lekachman
S. L. A. Marshall
Alberto Moravia

Hans J. Morgenthau
Bill Moyers
Daniel P. Moynihan
Reinhold Niebuhr
Vladimir Nabokov
Edwin O. Reischauer
John P. Roche
Bayard Rustin
Daniel Schorr
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Isaac Bashevis Singer
Gus Tyler

FROM SOME RECENT NEW LEADER ARTICLES THAT JERKED A FEW HEADS AMONG KNEE-JERK LIBERALS

John P. Roche on Limited War—"Can a free society fight a limited war? That is, a strategic war.... As one of the early advocates of flexible response and limited war, I have watched the defection of the liberal intellectuals with somber anguish. Limited war was conceived of by liberals as the liberal alternative to massive retaliation and/or isolationism. It was the liberal answer to John Foster Dulles that was to find classic formulation in the speeches of President John F. Kennedy and in Robert McNamara's spectacular reorganization of the Department of Defense. At root, the theory asserted that instead of relying on apocalyptic nuclear power to deter aggression, the United States would be capable of a flexible, measured response to the forces deployed on the other side of the hill—enough force, and no more, than was necessary to frustrate aggression. Kennedy and McNamara realized that the very character of nuclear war made any other response an all or nothing proposition; one either pushed the button or capitulated."

Gus Tyler on Senator Robert Kennedy's Assassination—"The death of Robert F. Kennedy should be a signal to rally around reason. It surely is not a cause for indulging in a new orgy of hate turned against the 'sick society' or the momentary symbol of its 'sickness.' American society is no sicker than the world..."

"Nor does reason demand that we indulge in a national carnival of meaculpism that grants license and logic to the unprogrammed angry-ones who would tear down social institutions slowly built up over generations. Too much of the breast beating is a public proclamation of self-righteous-

ness, intended partly to indict others and partly to cop out of the hard struggle to move ahead with moderation."

S. L. A. Marshall, Retired Brigadier General, on Reporting from Vietnam—"Individual battles, ever the main stream of the fighting story in Vietnam as in any other war, continue to be ignored solely because the majority of U.S. correspondents in Saigon don't give a damn about them. Perhaps the reporters are ignorant of war and do not wish to expose their innocence, or so fearful of the front that they cannot endure the thought of staying with it. Or perhaps they stay chained to their desks in the wretched and rapidly-deteriorating city because of managing editors who deem any other kind of 'war' stories more sensational, more worth having, than what happens to troops."

Bayard Rustin on School Decentralization—"Regardless of some of the good arguments in favor of school decentralization, that concept cannot be discussed independently of the implications it has for institutionalizing one of the worst evils in the history of this society—segregation. While I am prepared to recognize that some measure of decentralization is feasible and perhaps desirable, I would proceed very carefully, because we may end up creating and worsening more problems than we solve."

Daniel P. Moynihan on Race Relations—"Liberals must somehow overcome the curious condescension that takes the form of defending and explaining away anything, however outrageous, which Negroes, individually or collectively, might do."

Some of the reasons *The New Leader* was on Esquire critic Dwight MacDonald's required reading list. (Or, does any other intellectual magazine have such an exciting rear end?)

For some *New Leader* readers, he who reads the last half has the best laugh. In the back are the critics of the arts. If your taste in criticism runs to "If-it's-not-as-good-as-it-can-be-it's-bad," told in no uncertain terms, you might get a kick out of writing like this:

John Simon vs. "The Graduate": "The principal weaknesses are oversimplification, overelaboration, inconsistency, eclecticism, obviousness, pretentiousness, and especially in the penultimate section, sketchiness."

James Mellow vs. an Expressionist painting: "One of the most horrendous works... was 'Christ Led by Half Naked Men,' a painting so awful as to be forgettable."

Stanley Edgar Hyman vs. Updike's "Couples": "Succeeds quickly in making sex revolting and succeeds ultimately in making it boring."

John Goodman vs. Messiaen: "...the music of the master is academically corrupt in its whole-sale and meaningless borrowing."

Marvin Kitman vs. Helen Gurley Brown: "Predictably, she turns the conversation to sex. Sometimes I wish Miss Brown would just take a cold shower."

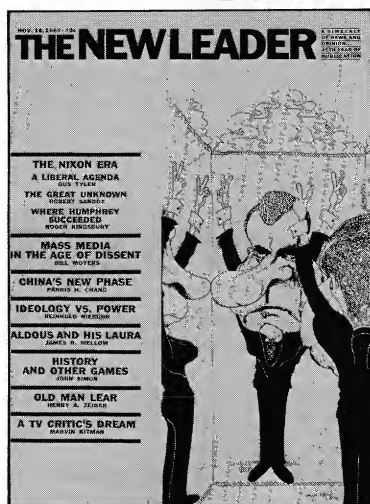
And another kind of back-of-the-book criticism, our **Letters to the Editor**. An example: "Mark Goodman's snide comments about Eric Bentley reveal all the hangups of the liberal. Goodman goes down to the Free University and sees what he wants to see: 'flannel shirts,' 'dungarees, boots and sweatshirts,' a 'nostalgia' for Fascism. How contemptible can you get! The issues the New Left stands for are irrelevant because they don't dress right. Peter Weiss has a sexy blonde wife. So what? Does that make him a phony?"

"All this fake psychologizing and analyzing is so old I'm surprised to see it still in print. It's the old story: scratch a revolutionary and you'll find an envious bourgeois with a sex hangup... When Fascism comes to this country, you liberals can tell us how all the anti-Fascist demonstrators wore dirty clothes and acted ridiculously and cursed and sang weird songs about hating Fascists..."

CAN YOUR MIND STAND A JOLTING 25 TIMES A YEAR?

Right now, 0.025% of the adult population of the U.S. follows *The New Leader*. If you'd like to help make that 0.026%, join our readers, who range from Bill Buckley to someone in the Kremlin. All it takes is an open mind, and a resistance to being handed a line by anyone.

Use the order card enclosed to enter your subscription on our **Judge for Yourself Plan**... We'll start sending you *The New Leader*... After reading 3 issues, if you do not feel you need every issue, just write "Cancel" on our bill and shoot it back to us... We'll tear up our records and you'll owe nothing. Fair enough?



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a biweekly of news and opinion...
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Dear Reader:

If you are the kind of person who doesn't like to be handed a
line...who doesn't like to be told what to think...you will be
glad you discovered THE NEW LEADER.

A quick glance at the titles of the articles included in our
portfolio (yours to keep) will tell you why you should accept
this offer:

Can a Free Society Fight a Limited War? by John P. Roche

Education in a Changing Society by Bayard Rustin

Nulla Cum Laude, a review of "The Graduate" by non-
conformist critic John Simon

Couplings, a review of John Updike's "Couples" by

Stanley Edgar Hyman that is unlike any you've read

A Challenge to Liberalism, an examination of the
meaning of the Columbia University student rebellion
by Amitai Etzioni

A Nation in Deep Trouble by John W. Gardner

To President Charles de Gaulle by David Ben-Gurion

How a Free People Conduct a Long War by Gus Tyler

The 'Other War' in Vietnam by Edward M. Kennedy

Meeting Moscow's 'Limited Coexistence' by Zbigniew Brzezinski

A Literary Conversation with Milovan Djilas by Thomas J. Butler

If these titles sound like reading you would enjoy, you may be the one American adult in 8,000 who would from time to time be enlightened, entertained, stimulated, shocked, amused or enraged by THE NEW LEADER.

THE NEW LEADER is a not-so-new, little-known biweekly magazine of news and opinion.

Exactly 0.025% of the population of the United States and its territories read it. But it's quite a 0.025%! It includes the editors of the N. Y. Times, who quote it regularly, some oversensitive pooh-bahs of the Establishment, who revile it regularly, and the relative handful of political, intellectual and cultural trend-setters who read it either to get news and views they can't get elsewhere or to find out what the opposition is up to.

THE NEW LEADER is a magazine of generally liberal political and social persuasion. (Read it and you'll remember that once upon a time liberal meant open-minded.)

HOW THE NEW LEADER DIFFERS...

It differs from other generally liberal magazines in its refusal to give knee-jerk response to every doctrinaire liberal shibboleth, from "If Bill Buckley is for it, I'm against it," to "Gee! What the hell happened to Moynihan, he doesn't think right anymore?"

THE NEW LEADER follows no line - neither an Establishment line nor an anti-Establishment line.

Thus, for those who want their ideas challenged, who are tired of pap and cant and a view of the world restricted by ideological blinders, THE NEW LEADER is provocatively unpredictable. For others, THE NEW LEADER is too heretical by far. It slaughters too many sacred cows: gores too many prize oxen.

For example, THE NEW LEADER, which first printed Martin Luther King's devastating "Letter from Birmingham City Jail" (one of the most bitter, if sorrowful attacks ever made against the complacency of white moderates), also printed a prophetic Bayard Rustin stricture against wholesale school decentralization that brought howls of protest.

So, too, Brigadier General (Retired) S.L.A. Marshall's sharp attack on the quality of reporting out of Vietnam. Eight correspondents (three of them Pulitzer Prize winners) joined the counter-attack in a subsequent NEW LEADER issue.

Other battles, national and international, have been fought on the pages of THE NEW LEADER. Adversaries have included Theodore Draper, Daniel P. Moynihan, Gus Tyler, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Daniel Bell, Irving Kristol, Ralph Ellison, Edward M. Kennedy, Hans J. Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr, Leo Cherne, John P. Roche, and many more.

TWO WRITERS JAILED...

~~And a succession of material from Eastern Europe (much of it~~ smuggled through the underground, including Prose Poems by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, a secret transcript of The Trial of Iosif Brodsky and "Thought Unaware" by Andrei Sinyavsky) have created headlines by telling it like it is in the Communist world.

Two articles, unhappily, resulted in their authors' imprisonment in Yugoslavia: Milovan Djilas' "The Storm in Eastern Europe" and Mihajlo Mihajlov's "Moscow Summer."

There is another important difference between THE NEW LEADER and too many other liberal/intellectual magazines. While THE NEW LEADER probes serious matters seriously, it tries to do it with style. With wit. With humor, where appropriate. Nowhere is this more evident than in the back of the book. There, the regular critics fill their columns with rages and outrages against the shoddy, the easy, the surface, the anything-less-than-what-could-have-been in literature, music, movies, art and TV. From John Simon decrying all the people who "giggled inanely" at a scene in "Hour of the Wolf" to Stanley Edgar Hyman beginning a review of

Updike's "Couples," "[There is] an endless sexual explicitness that succeeds quickly in making sex revolting and succeeds ultimately in making it boring," THE NEW LEADER's reviewers bring a lively you-know-where-we-stand approach to their work that is matched only by our readers' letters to the editors.

If your mind can stand an occasional battering from the opposition; if you agree that there is often more than one side to an issue; if you think you might enjoy now and then shrieking, "Damn them! This time they've gone too far," perhaps you might like to follow THE NEW LEADER.

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Cordially,

Rachel Hogrogian
THE NEW LEADER

RH:B

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